

Full
Proof

A
R E V I E W
Of the Two Late
R E B E L L I O N S,
Historical, Political and Moral.

PART the FIRST.

C O N T A I N I N G,

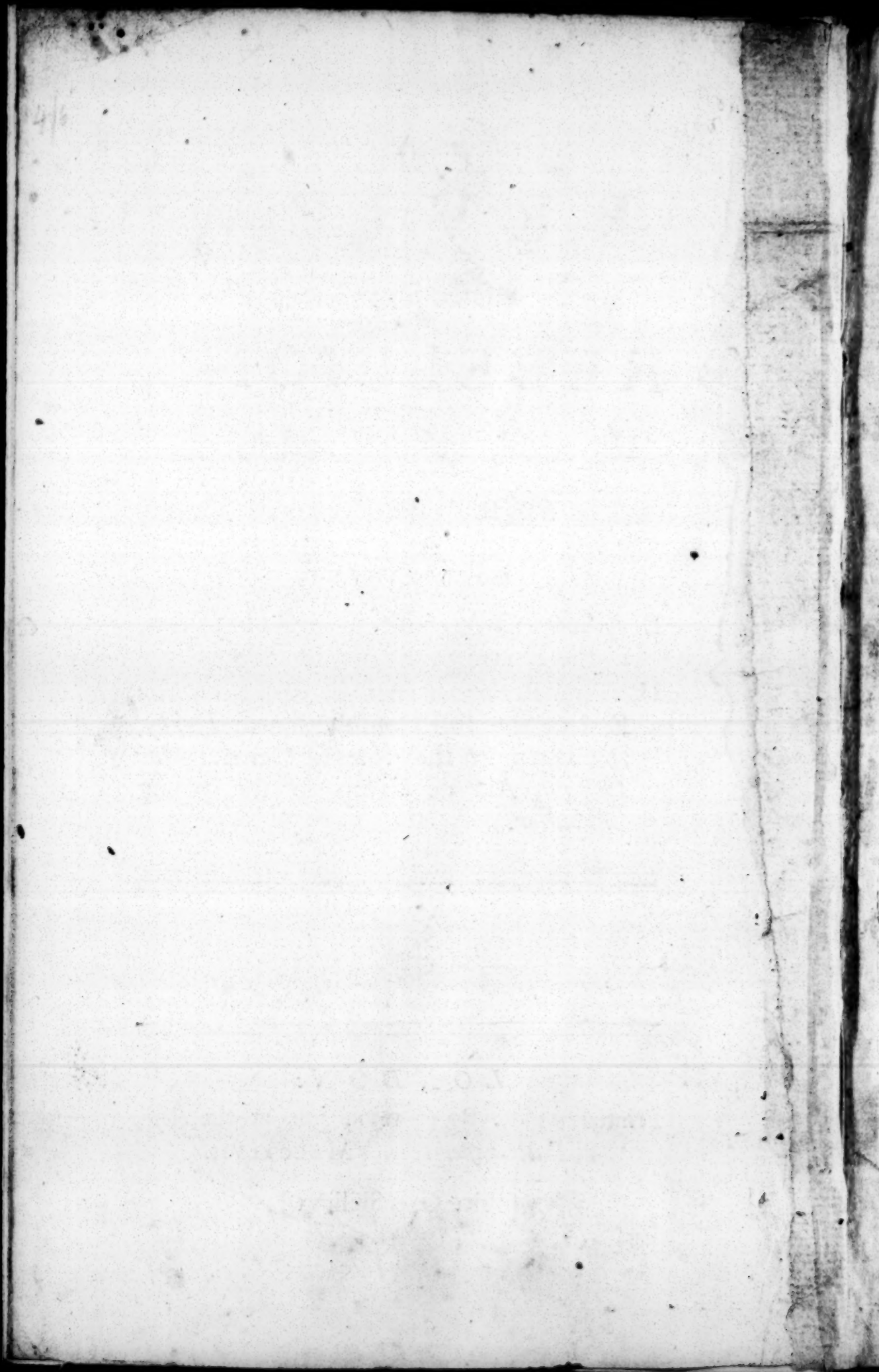
- I. A Succinct Account of the REBELLION,
in the Year 1715.
 - II. The REBELLION in 1745, to the
End of the first Consultation at *Derby*,
as taken from the Notes of General *Mac*
Donald, Aid de Camp to the young
Chevalier.
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L O N D O N :

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ADVERTISEMENT.

AFTER so many Accounts of this Unnatural Rebellion as have continually been published, this Work may appear unnecessary; but all who have given any of them the Reading, have wished they had been undertaken by not only a more impartial, but a more able Hand.

'Twas not this, however, that stir'd me up to this Attempt, for whatever room their Deficiency might give me to expect I might exceed whatever has hitherto been published, my Vanity would never suffer me to flatter myself I could answer the Importancy of the Affair.

However, having observed as well in the artificial Body of a State, as in the natural one, after such violent Commotions, when all Things are in seeming Rest and Ease, a Change

ensues either of the highest Advantage, or of the greatest Detriment, according to the Physick made use of; I thought proper, after I had waited with the greatest Anxiety, in Hopes some abler Pen would take it in Hand, to thus throw in my Mite, in hopes, that so good and necessary a Subject, so indifferently handled, might excite the Resolution of those, whose Duty it may be to treat of it with Authority, to enforce the same.



A
R E V I E W
O F T H E

Two Late REBELLIONS,
With some Reflections Moral and
Political.

I KNOW no greater Instance of true Nobility, than a grateful Attention given to the Corrector of our most favourite Vices. It not only shews a Disposition to correct them, together with a Desire to be made sensible of their Baseness, but manifests something so divine in the Person so rebuked, we know not how sufficiently to admire him. 'Tis a tacit Acknowledgment of his Fault, together with a Resolution to amend it: he inflames the Breast of his Friend, whilst

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he quite confounds the Malice of the Scoffer. There is no Part of *Roman* History which gives us a greater Idea of their Nobleness of Soul in their highest Degree of Purity, than that Instance in so unanimously electing *Cato* to the Dignity of Cenfor, in the midst of their highest Debauchery: Who, whilst all his Competitors would have ingratiated themselves by Promises of the Mildness of their Office, sternly laid open the flagrant Vices of the Age, shewed them the Necessity of their being speedily put a stop to, and promised that should they elect him, he would use his highest Severity to eradicate them all.

So free and open were the *Romans* to acknowledge their reigning Vices, and so ready were they to accept of a rigorous Cenfor of their Diversions. Then let not him be esteemed a common Enemy amongst *Britons*, who boast themselves to be sprung from the same Race, and flatter themselves to be possessed of the same Virtues, who shall venture to lay open the Follies and Vices of a whole Nation: Especially since now a second Time they
have

have so far tended to the Subversion of our happy Constitution.

I thought it necessary to premise so much ere I entered on a Subject, which from a long Attention to the Tempers and Dispositions of these Nations, I perceived would be little better than a Satyr on all.

However I shall proceed in the following Relation, first so far to indulge the natural Curiosity of the Reader, as to give some short Account of myself, and to shew by what Means an extraordinary Acquaintance, both of the present Rebellion, and that of the Year fifteen came to my Knowledge.

Secondly, To give as Brief and Succinct an Account of them Both, as the Relation will admit.

Thirdly, To speak of the real Springs, that first set them both a going.

And *lastly*, By considering it in a Political View, I shall set forth the only Means of possibly making an entire Subversion of our present happy Establishment.

But first the Interest and Honour of my Family, as I have many now possessing considerable Posts under this present Go-

vernment require that my Name should be concealed, at least from those who know not what a considerable Hand my late unhappy Father had in the first Rebellion; whose Chance it was to fall in the Battle of *Dumblain*, but not before he had given sufficient Testimony, how heartily he espoused the Cause: From whose Manuscripts, which have been ever since in my Custody, and now lately reviewed, I doubt not to lay open some Parts of History, which hitherto has lain concealed.

I was born in *Aberdeen* of one of the most considerable Families of all *Marr*, and received an Education not inferior to my expected Fortune, till the unhappy Rebellion broke out, when I was about the Age of Fifteen; and tho' so young, yet I chose rather to attend the Fortune of my Father, than follow my Studies with my Mother; not only as it was more agreeable to my Inclinations to ramble the Country, than to be confined with my Master, but as I found it more agreeable to my Parents.

As my Father was an Officer, under and related to the Earl of *Marr*, he never
parted

parted from him, till it was his Fortune, as I said, to fall in the Battle of *Dumblain*. 'Twas my Lot to be then left with an Uncle in the Body of Reserve, with whom I retreated till after the *Chevalier* joined, and left us, as it shall be spoke on in its proper Place, and with whom I fled to *France* for some short time; when at the Petitions of my Mother I returned, and was settled at the University of *Glasgow*, where I had the Honour of being intimately acquainted with the late unhappy Lord *Kilmarnock*; whose Character there may not be disagreeable to the Publick, since then for the most Part the real Inclinations and Dispositions appear without Disguise, as the Follies of Childhood are just got over, and the Arts of Manhood are not yet put on.

His Lordship's sole Misfortune was to be left very young, deprived of his Father, his Parts and Learning were in high Admiration of all; tho' of a gay Disposition and little relishing the Severities of Study, yet no one of his Equals exceeded him in the Knowledge of the learned Languages, and his Insight in the Sciences was equal

to the most sedate. He was a chearful Companion, sincere Friend, and no one expressed himself on all Occasions a loyaler Subject, or better inclined to the present happy Establishment; and I fear those Qualities, which, with the Care of a proper Guardian, might have been a Credit to himself, the Honour of his Family, and of the highest Advantage to the Nation in general, did but too much contribute to his unhappy Fate; his Name and Quality introduced him every where, his easy Air and agreeable Carriage, made him be sought for by all, whilst his Generosity too profuse for his Fortune laid him open to the Snares of Sharpers, which by reducing it, within the Bounds of a private Gentleman, throwed him on that in the Year forty-five, he from his Heart abhorred in fifteen.

But to proceed to the Account of the Rebellion; in the Relation of which I shall beg leave to acquaint the Reader, as my Design is not to give an History of it, but only to premise some Particulars, in Order to make proper Reflections, I shall omit giving a continual Account of the Movement of the Armies, so tedious, and
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at the same time so unprofitable to the Reader, but shall confine myself to those Facts alone, which my Father's Papers hath laid open to me, as those will be sufficient to discover the true Grounds of the Rebellion, and at the same time make known to us the Motives of the Undertakers.

That Kingdom whose unhappy Lot it is to have a Person lay claim to it, with any the least Appearance of a good Title, must expect every Mismanagement of the Ministry, or even a foreign War, to draw on the ill Effects of an intestine Rebellion. The Malice of the Enemy finds the Assistance of the Pretender most gauling, whilst he himself is a bare Spectator, and makes the divided Party with Petitions seek for what is the sole End of the Enemy's Rancour.

Such was heretofore the Fate of this Nation under the unhappy Administration of *Vortigern*, who calling in the *Saxons* and giving them an Opportunity to lay claim to the Kingdom, fomented the Quarrels between the Natives, till they had established their own Dominion.

A Kingdom in such Circumstances is ever ready for a Rebellion, and how little Causes are sufficient to set it on foot, will appear from these two late ones. The first formed by disappointed Courtiers, immediately after the coming to the Throne of a Prince whose whole preceding Life declared the tender Father in the mild Governor, whose Right had been now established long ago by the whole People in their Representatives, and whose Admission was attended by the universal Applause of all, even of those who so soon took up Arms against him, and who by Blood was the nighest that our Laws would admit to the Throne. The last contrived by *France*, harrassed and surrounded on all sides by Enemies in the midst of the greatest Unanimity of all *British* Subjects, for none, that ever I heard of, laid any Grievance to the Government's Charge, but were tempted and joined with no better Intentions, than the Malefactor who infests the Road, the Badness of their present Affairs and the Hopes of Rapine. Yet both in these Circumstances thrived to a tremendous Degree upwards of six Months.

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But to relate more particularly the Progress of the former Rebellion ; no sooner did his late Majesty make his Entrance into these Dominions, than his Enemies vainly imagined to blind his Sight by the readiness of their Services, who being for the most Part the Favourites of the late Reign, had a particular Opportunity of paying their Devotions, The Duke of *Ormond* believed his Affections would be judged from the Splendor of his Equipage, the Lord *Oxford* would have had every ones Views centered in his Readiness to receive the King ; but his Majesty's Knowledge of the Affairs of *Europe*, his particular Insight into those of these Kingdoms would not suffer him to be imposed on by such outward Marks of Respect and Obedience. He received them rather with the Dignity of a King, than was consistent with the Rules of Policy. There had been almost all the late Reign a Party framing in the Kingdom, by the Assistance of *France*, in favour of the Pretender. But the Credit of the Sovereign, the Faithfulness of most of the Ministers, and the great Love and Affection of the People, had made it apparently impossible during the Reign of

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the Queen, from whence they began to secure the Succession to their Party. But the general Detestation of the People to a Popish Sovereign, rendered it impossible to spread beyond a few ravenous Courtiers, who however, as soon as the King arrived, were the most zealous in all the open Marks of Duty and Reverence. But as I said, their Practices being well known to his Majesty, they met with a Reception, if at least not equal to the Greatness of their Crimes, yet much beneath their Expectations from the Hopes they had flattered themselves with, through the Secrecy of their Affairs. The Duke of *Ormond*, Captain General, was discharged; the Lord *Cowper* succeeded Lord *Harcourt*, and the Earl of *Mar* was turned out.

Then it was the disappointed Lords began in earnest to look out for a new Court; then did they a-fresh renew with more zeal their foreign Correspondence; *Ormond* withdrew to *France*, and *Mar* took Ship for the North; then was the Name of Religion made a Cloak for the Overthrow of the Church; and the Dissolving of the Union made the Pretence for reducing it to slavery, and so great was the

the Bigotry of the Nation, that in as small a Time as so great a Body could be got in Arms, Twelve Thousand were raised and headed by the Earl of *Mar*, as General in Chief for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, under the Pretender; and so great was the Ardency of the People, that they exposed themselves to almost certain Death in crossing an Arm of the Sea in open Boats, tho' exposed to the continual Fire of his Majesty's Ships of War, and the whole Country wanted but the Appearance of the Pretender to have risen.

And here it may not be amiss to speak something of the General. The Earl of *Mar* was a Man of great Cunning, tho' not of the nicest Honour; he suffered himself to be deceived by the repeated Promises of the Pretender and his Party abroad with regard to Supplies, otherwise he might have roused the Spirits of his drooping Party by pushing on to Action at several Opportunities, particularly after the Battle of *Sheriff Moor*, when the right Wing of his Majesty's Forces returned in Disorder from the Pursuit of his Left, and the main Body, together with the other Wing, were entirely dispersed: Yet he

suffered them to retreat, and left the Victory in Doubt, vainly relying on the Promises of the Pretender, and giving Faith to the zealous Uproar of Tories.

His Honour was not a little affected by his so soon taking up Arms against his Majesty, ere his Breath was cool, with which he not only zealously offered his Service, but even took the Oaths of Allegiance : And his so basely forsaking so many poor Creatures, whom his false Suggestions had inticed into so great a Dilemma, will be an eternal Blot on his Escutcheon, nor will his Pretence of his being commanded by the Pretender by any means excuse him.

The Chevalier's Conduct during the whole Affair has been the Admiration of many, that any one so strenuously laying Claim to so great an Empire, and ever endeavouring to corrupt the Men in Power to begin some Push for him, whose Claim is founded in Primogeniture, and supported by divine Right, should be so long absent as five Months from the Breaking out, especially at a Time when the Infatuation of the Populace might well make a Bigot imagine nothing less than the Hand of Providence could

could produce so wonderful an Ardency, Commotions being raised all over the Kingdom; twelve thousand effective Men being mustered, with the Earl of *Mar* in *Scotland*, half that Number under the Command of Mr. *Forster* in *England*, a well laid Scheme to seize the City of *Bristol*, together with the Assurances of many more; whilst the whole Forces of his Majesty in *Scotland* under the Duke of *Argyle* did not exceed Two Thousand, and those in *England*, besides their being very much dispersed, were inconsiderable. I say, considering all these Commotions, in Defence of a Chevalier King of these Dominions by divine Right, would not one wonder what could cause his so long Absence, and when present, his so speedy Return? Not sure the Advice of Friends, or the Fear of *France*! His Presence was too apparently necessary to cause the first, and the *French* were too much his Well-wishers for him to fear the last. No, his late Experience of the Tempers and Dispositions of these People, was the only Cause of his so long deferring his Journey. He had experienced the universal Aversion all had to his Father's Conduct, too feelingly

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to imagine so soon the Bent of their Inclinations could be turned ; whatever might be the Promises of the Heads, he well saw, their ardent Zeal proceeded only from their late Reception at Court, and tho' Multitudes of People continually flowed in to him, he knew they were only such as the Desperateness of their Fortunes had drove to him, or the Fear of deserved Punishments, and the first Act of Grace would leave him destitute.

However, his Pretensions having now been long instilled into the Ears of the Populace, and his divine Right not less believed than the Prophecies of old, the late Union still established, so grating to all who boasted themselves true *Scotchmen*, as they imagined they should be esteemed rather a Province dependant, than a Party equally participating the Honours of the State, and lastly, those traitorous Positions continually given out of the Danger of the Church and Constitution under the reigning Monarch; I say, these Considerations at last persuaded him, that the Kingdom in general might look on him as their Deliverer, and he set out from *Commercy* the twenty-eighth Day of *October*, and after
some

some Endeavours to land in the West of *Scotland*, which were rendered ineffectual by the Diligence of the Well-affected, he arrived safe on the East, on the twenty-second of *December*.

And here his Conduct is something extraordinary; no sooner had he arrived, than his Head being turned with his expected Change of Fortune, he immediately hastens his Course towards *Scone*, a Place no other ways requiring his Presence, than as it excited more perfectly his majestick Ideas. And here having played the King a little, in issuing out Proclamations, and receiving Addresses, he fell at once from his high Notions, and was possessed with the contrary Extreem, and though in the midst of the most intense Frost perhaps that ever this Climate endured, when all the Earth was wrapped up in Snow, he issued out his Command for all the Country to be laid destitute, every Cot to be demolished, and all the Necessaries of Life to be removed, and this where all the Inhabitants expressed themselves entirely devoted to his Service, which he alleviated by urging the Laws of Arms to distress the Enemy, and gave Commands, which tho' to his
Adversary,

Adversary, he was sure would be complied with, since he left Orders for the Duke of *Argyle*, his Majesty's General, to take Care of them, whom his direful Policy had exposed to all the Hardships of the Season; then left his Army by a Trick, and took away its best Generals with him, as one would imagine his sole Design were to weed the Kingdom of all those who were so mad as to espouse his Cause. He drew up his Army on one Side his Quarters, and ordered his Guards and Horse to be brought, as though he would Head them, whilst he took Shipping with the Earl of *Mar* and two or three more Friends, by retiring at a back Door; and this whilst the pursuing Enemy were within a few Miles of them; so that these Delays must inevitably bring on them an entire Destruction.

Thus easily was dispersed the *Scotch* Party, being twelve thousand, the Country well affected towards them, and too readily believing their traiterous Declarations of the Church's Danger from the reigning Monarch, and the States Destruction in the late Union.

Nor did those in *England* succeed better, who tho' they had got together six thousand

sand Men, with the good Wishes and Promises of almost all the Country at the Landing of the Pretender, and were joined by so many Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Country, that they were obliged to double Officer their whole Forces, yet found all this insufficient. As the Complaints they went about to redress were Imaginary, so every one had different Views. The *Scotch* desired only to dissolve the Union, and would proceed no further than their own Bounds. The *English* were spirited on by disappointed Courtiers; many were excited by their Religion, and not a few were inflamed by the Noise of the Bottle-Champions; in which Number we must place their Chief Mr. *Foster*, who seemed to build an entire Confidence in the ranting Healths of his drunken Companions; and as his own Motives were honourable, (being seduced by a mistaken Notion of indefeasible Right,) he vainly imagined others so zealous over their Bottles, would be no less so in the Field.

And here 'tis worth while to observe the Conduct of the two Generals, being directly contrary to one another, as tho' Providence had intended to prevent all

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other Rebellions in these Nations, by discovering how ineffectual the several different Methods would prove. The Earl of *Mar*, as was said, seldom moved from his Quarters, or sent out any Parties to take the strong Holds ; tho' he was greatly superior in the Field, he relied on the good Dispositions of the People towards his Party for a peaceable Life, till those vast Heaps of Succours promised by the Pretender, should come with their Prince at their Head. Mr. *Foster* did not doubt of the *Chevalier's* readily joining them, by the first Opportunity ; tho' he was satisfied he should, from the Ardency of the People, be able to finish the Work ere he arrived. He vainly flattered himself with ten Thousands at every Town he arrived at, and moved towards *London* with the greatest Expedition, when his Career was stopped at *Preston* ; and so infatuated was he, with the Expectations of the general good liking of the whole People to his Party, that he never once imagined he should meet his Foe in the Field ; and tho' he used his utmost Sagacity to enquire out the Motions of his Majesty's Forces, under the Command of General *Carpenter* on the North-

North-East, he not once looked for an Enemy in Arms on the South. General *Wills* was not discovered by their Party till he was within Sight of them, and so great was their Consternation, that instead of defending the only Pass they could be got at over *Ripple* Bridge, they shut themselves up in the Town; where being besieged for some time, General *Carpenter* joined his Majesty's Forces, and they surrendered Prisoners of War.

Before we leave this Head, it will be necessary to premise some few Words of the Design on the City of *Bristol*, for which their Party had a sufficient Number of Friends in those Parts. It being carried on by several of the most considerable Merchants of the Place, under the Pretence of being Fellows of the *Royal Society*; but were happily discovered by the bursting of a Pipe, which was filled with basket-hilted Swords; but so ardent were they that no sooner were they discovered, than they had the same Design on *Portsmouth*; but by the Sagacity of Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* they were there likewise disappointed. However, the Duke of *Ormond* being about to land in the West, the Disaffected

in *Cornwall* had the Insolence openly to rise and proclaim the Pretender at *St. Colombe*, whilst others again endeavour to seize on *Bristol*, by resorting there on a Fair-Day; but their Scheme was entirely disconcerted by the unexpected Seizure of *Sir William Windham*.

Could any one imagine these Nations should again taste the dire Effects of an intestine Rebellion, after the ill Success of a Design so well laid, and so heartily executed, espoused and managed; not only by Persons well acquainted with the Country, and those who by their noble Families could command many Friends and Relations; but even such as best knew the Tempers and Dispositions of the People, and by what Lures they could be most easily drawn in, having long studied and experienced them in their Posts under the late Reign; from whence they perceived the most effective Bait, was to enflame the *Scots* by the Dangers of the Union, and the Rights of Primogeniture, The *English* were told of the Ruin of the Church, and the ill Consequences of a Monarch unacquainted with their Customs,

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But such is the peculiar Happiness of a free State to that of an arbitrary Government, that whilst the Monarch has the least Footing, his Kingdom is secure; when, on the other Hand, 'tis sufficient to overthrow the Tyrant by contriving the Rebellion.

Had these Nations been left to follow the Dictates of their own Inclinations, they would, I believe, never have coveted a Change, by which they must necessarily be so great Sufferers: But no sooner was a Rebellion convenient for *France*, than we immediately took Arms. *Lewis* was held under the only Obligations that were ever found sufficient to bind him, namely his own Advantage, not to give the least Encouragement to the Pretender, or his Party, or even to admit him in his Dominions during the Space of the former Rebellion; but no sooner did they cease than she immediately contrived our Confusion, and what must seem strange to all sincere Lovers of their Country, she found much less Trouble in securing her Reception here, than in Coming. The Lustre of her Gold, the Ambition of being promoted, or the Desire of Novelty being ever sufficient to
secure

secure here a Party large enough for her Designs.

She frequently plotted to send over the Pretender, with a Force sufficient to have founded his Title; but the Vigilance of our Ships as often rendered it ineffectual, till at length he landed in a small Skiff with some few *Scotch* and *Irish* Officers, together with some *French* Engineers in *Lochabar*. And tho' Intelligence was brought almost as soon as they were landed to the Ministry, yet so improbable was the Undertaking, so unlikely the Design, that no Notice was taken of them for a considerable Time after their Landing. Their Reception one should think was sufficient to damp the Spirits of the most Arduous, being joined by few for a considerable Time after their Landing.

The Loyalty and Affections of the *English* had been often exercised against him, by their so zealously guarding the Coast, and continually hindering those frequent Embarkations made in his Favour. However he set sail from Port *Lazare* in *Brittany*, on the Fourteenth of *July* 1745, on board a Frigate of 18 Guns, with about 60 *Scotch*, *Irish* and *French*, and
were

were joined off *Bellisle* by the *Elizabeth*, formerly an *English* Man of War, but taken by the *French* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and fitted out for this Expedition with 66 Guns, a great Number of Men, Arms and Ammunition for several Thousands, and large Sums of Money. But meeting in their Passage with a Squadron of *English* Merchant Men, convoyed by three Men of War, she was engaged with by the *Lion*, whilst the rest proceeded on their Voyage, and the Frigate stole off to her destined Port. The *Elizabeth*, after a bloody and obstinate Fight, having 64 slain and 130 wounded, was drove back to *Brest*; whilst the Pretender standing off for some time, in Expectation of the *Elizabeth* towards the Island of *Barra* and South *Uist*, at length after a Consultation held on Shoar at the Island of *Barra*, on the Loss of the *Elizabeth*, they landed as hath been said, on the Coast of *Lochabar*. The Contents of which were, as taken from the Notes of General *Macdonald*, the Pretender's Aid de Camp, to this Purpose. They held their Consultation in a Wood, about a Quarter of a Mile from the Shore, when having taken a small Repast, the
Pretender

Pretender desired the Sentiments of the rest on this important Affair ; ‘ as now they had
 ‘ great Reason to fear their whole Scheme
 ‘ was discovered by the taking the *Elizabeth*.’ When *Kelly* began ; ‘ Pardon me
 ‘ my honoured Master, and you Noblemen
 ‘ and Gentlemen, if my Zeal for the Cause
 ‘ forces me to begin a Consultation of such
 ‘ Importance, on which the Honour of
 ‘ our Sovereign, the Credit and Safety of
 ‘ ourselves, and, I may say, tho’ she has
 ‘ so resolutely opposed it, the greatest
 ‘ Good and sole Happiness of these Nations
 ‘ depend ; I say, Pardon me my dear Prince
 ‘ and you Fellow-undertakers if my Zeal
 ‘ urges me to begin before Noblemen, so
 ‘ much better able to advise. But what-
 ‘ ever suggests a Notion of departing from
 ‘ an Undertaking which promises so great
 ‘ an Honour, as the Restoring of our
 ‘ Rightful Sovereign to his Native Domi-
 ‘ nions, raises such an Indignation within
 ‘ me, I know not how to keep within the
 ‘ proper Bounds of Decorum. It is not
 ‘ to be imagined our Design is discovered
 ‘ by the taking of the *Elizabeth*, since it
 ‘ would be even an Imputation of Cowar-
 ‘ dice on the Parties : Did we not see the
 ‘ whole

* whole Fleet make off, except one far in-
 * ferior in Force, whom we had much better
 * and have far greater Grounds to imagine,
 * have long ere this suffered severely for
 * the rash Attempt, and have much more
 * need to rejoice at the additional Strength
 * of our naval Force by the Acquisition of
 * a new Ship, than damp our Spirits with
 * the Thoughts of the Loss of the *Eliza-*
 * *beth*. Besides, when we consider the
 * superior Force of one fighting for their
 * legal Sovereign against the———
 * we can't but imagine even we, few as
 * we are, are almost sufficient to confound
 * the whole Torrent of Numbers that
 * shall come against us. Well do I re-
 * member, and methinks I now see the
 * trembling Countenances of the whole
 * Race of Myrmidons who lately seized
 * me for this good Cause, depriving me of
 * my Sword, and heaping together my
 * Papers to raise an Accusation against me;
 * when I resolutely seized the first, and
 * with it, against them all, protected the
 * other, till the Flames had consumed
 * them. Then shall we now give Ground
 * when so many foreign Powers have join-
 * ed with us, and the whole Nation lies
 E * panting

‘ panting for our coming, and there wants
 ‘ but the Presence of the Sovereign to
 ‘ head them all.’ To which *Sheridan* re-
 plied; ‘ May it please your Royal High-
 ‘ ness, I know no greater Proof of the
 ‘ Validity of a Position, than when dif-
 ‘ ferent Persons make use of different Ar-
 ‘ guments, and yet draw the same Con-
 ‘ clusion. I can by no Means see any
 ‘ Cause to rejoice at the late Accident,
 ‘ since there is not the least Likelihood of
 ‘ her taking the Enemy, it being her Bu-
 ‘ siness to fight the running Battle on the
 ‘ defensive; and besides, as it must ne-
 ‘ cessarily take up Time, which at this
 ‘ present is more precious than the Ac-
 ‘ quisition of many Ships; and lastly, as
 ‘ it is almost impossible but the Enemy
 ‘ must find out to what Port she was de-
 ‘ stined, or at least get some Intelligence
 ‘ of her Design. The great Fortitude and
 ‘ Resolution of Mr. *Kelly* has been testified,
 ‘ and I make not the least Doubt but
 ‘ every one here, should an Occasion offer,
 ‘ would do as much; yet we have the
 ‘ greatest Reason to rejoice, that the Mo-
 ‘ tives of our Undertakings don’t depend
 ‘ on what Number we shall bring over.
 ‘ Numerous

‘ Numerous and Valiant are the *Britons*,
 ‘ and we have Reason to fear, did we build
 ‘ our Hopes on foreign Aid, we should
 ‘ find ourselves swallowed up and lost, as
 ‘ the weak Stream in the great Body of
 ‘ the Ocean: But the many Invitations
 ‘ from all Hands, make us confident that
 ‘ no sooner shall we land on *British* Shoar,
 ‘ than the whole Nation will flow into us.
 ‘ And like the Sea which shrinks under
 ‘ the Weight of the borrowed Lustre of
 ‘ the Moon, and seeks Refuge in the Bo-
 ‘ som of the narrow Channel, then mixt
 ‘ and blended, rolls back, and as it were,
 ‘ by its Assistance, resumes its ancient
 ‘ Power; so we shall find ourselves lost
 ‘ in the great Number of Friends con-
 ‘ tinually flowing in to us, and the only
 ‘ Spring on which the Success of our Un-
 ‘ dertaking depends is Expedition; that all
 ‘ Loyal *Britons* may follow the true Bent
 ‘ of their own Inclinations, and Time may
 ‘ not be given to the——to check them.’
 The *Chevalier* arising said, ‘ My dear
 ‘ Brethren and Fellow-subjects, to a So-
 ‘ vereign whose tender Care and paternal
 ‘ Love has not less been stretched out,
 ‘ even beyond the present Lowness of his

‘ Circumstances, to each of you, with no
 ‘ less Readiness than to us his natural Child,
 ‘ and whose Goodness so far extends, as
 ‘ thus to expose all that Fortune has left
 ‘ him, in the Redemption of these un-
 ‘ grateful Nations. And would not the
 ‘ Infirmary of his Age rather be an Hin-
 ‘ derance than a Promotion, he had cer-
 ‘ tainly embarked in this Expedition how
 ‘ dangerous soever; nay, only the Per-
 ‘ swasions of Friends restrained him, since
 ‘ he often expressed his Dissatisfaction, that
 ‘ Subjects whose Love and Loyalty was
 ‘ so far extended as to join in this so glo-
 ‘ rious an Expedition, should be exposed
 ‘ to the Dangers that Absence must excuse
 ‘ him from. ’Tis the greatest Pleasure to
 ‘ us, and does rebound the greater Ho-
 ‘ nour on yourselves, to see you thus ardent
 ‘ for an Undertaking damped at the first
 ‘ setting out, with so great a Loss as have
 ‘ lately happened unto us. However we
 ‘ can as yet set no Prospect before our Eyes,
 ‘ but what is filled with the most pleasing
 ‘ Objects. The Clans are entirely devoted
 ‘ to our Father’s Pleasure, and all *England*
 ‘ will be ready to join us, besides those
 ‘ whose mercenary Souls are restrained
 ‘ from

' from their Allegiance to their rightful
 ' Sovereign, by their enjoying of Digni-
 ' ties, which their Unworthiness gives them
 ' no Hopes to obtain, from the juster Ad-
 ' ministration of their rightful Sovereign,
 ' our Father. And should the fear of
 ' Success, or any other Motives deter them
 ' from so readily joining us, as we have
 ' the greatest Reason to expect both, from
 ' the Oppressions they suffer, during the
 ' present Reign, and the many Invitations
 ' we have received from the greatest and
 ' most considerable amongst them, we
 ' are backed by two the most powerful
 ' Monarchs of *Europe*, who readily have
 ' espoused and made our Cause their own,
 ' and who willingly would have supplied
 ' us with Forces sufficient to have accom-
 ' plished the Work, without the Assistance
 ' of any : But our Father always believing
 ' the good Affections of his Subjects, as
 ' the noblest Foundation for Monarchy,
 ' chose to come thus empty handed, that
 ' his loving Subjects might have the Ho-
 ' nour of establishing on the Throne, a
 ' Prince whom all Nations look on as an
 ' Example of true Christian Humility and
 ' Resignation ; and whom after Ages shall
 ' admire

‘ admire and blefs for the Patriot and Pre-
 ‘ server of thefe Nations from a———’

No fooner was this Confultation ended, than they immediately fet fail. And now having brought him to Shoar, I ought to fhew my Importancy, according to the Method of prefent Historiographers, by mixing myfelf in the moft fecret Councils of all the States at Variance with this Nation. I fhould mention the Love and Affection of Cardinal *Tencin*, for the Chevalier’s obtaining him a Cap, and the intriguing Temper of Marfhal *Bellifle* in the Court of *France*; the good Affections Cardinal *Aquaviva* bore towards his Party, and the Influence of the *Irifh* Partifans at the Court of *Madrid*. But it is enough to know fuch Perfons are fo affected, and the Zeal of each Court will be fufficiently testified by the Succours they give.

The Chevalier’s Son with the Title of Regent of thefe Nations, on his Landing immediately reforted to the Houfe of *Macdonald* of *Kenlock Moidart*, where he remained till he was joined by feveral of the Clans; particularly by the *Camerons* of *Lochiel*, and *Macdonalds* of *Glengary*, to the amount of about 2000 Men. On
 which,

which, though it fell far short of his Expectations, and the Loss of the *Elizabeth* was of the greatest Concern to him ; he set up his Standard with a Motto expressing his great Success, and published several Declarations of different Dates, particularly one of the Year 1743, which plainly discover their Plots had often been aimed at before. They from thence immediately began to cross the Country from *Lochabar* to *Perth*, when in their Passage they took two Companies of *St. Clair's* Regiment, who were sent out to reconnoitre them, as likewise Captain *Sweatman* of *Guise's* Regiment, whom they set free on his Parole, and who first gave to the Ministry a regular Account of their Forces ; and likewise had a Sight of General *Cope*, with his Majesty's Forces, who prudently avoided a Battle ; not only as the Name of a Highlander was even become terrible to his Soldiers, but as he considered Delays would damp the Spirits of the Rebels, whilst they brought him Supplies, and a Victory would only get what he had in his Power at any Time to attain, whilst an Overthrow would excite those to join them, who till then were well affected : So that he went forward
for

for *Inverness*, whilst the Rebels proceeded to *Perth*, which they took the Fourth of *September*, and on the Fifth they proclaimed the Chevalier, when they were joined by the Marquis of *Tullibardine*, with the *Athol Men*, of which Place he was stiled Duke by the Rebels, being eldest Son of the late Duke of *Athol*, but attainted for the Share he bore in the Rebellion of Fifteen; as likewise by the Duke of *Perth*, with a Body of four Hundred.

During their Stay at *Perth*, they sent out a Party of 200 to take the Fort of *Ruthven* in *Badenock*, not for the Advantage of the Place, it being of no Consequence, and only defended by a Serjeant and twelve Men; but by aggrandizing on it, to give a Repute to their Arms, from which they were nobly repulsed by the Serjeant, by Name *Molley*, with the Loss of three Men slain, and six wounded. On the Eleventh of *September* they began to march towards the *Forth*, being about 3000 strong; which they passed on the Thirteenth at the *Frews*, a Ford about five Miles above *Sterling*. On the Fourteenth they tended their Course towards *Glasgow*, but receiving no Answer to a Summons
sent

sent, they turned short on the Fifteenth towards *Edinburgh*; which tho' deemed tenable by General *Guest*, was surrendered to the Rebels by the Provost on the Seventeenth, contrary to the Inclinations of the Citizens, and Opinion of the Governor, who retired into the Castle with the Bank of *Scotland*, and most of the valuable Goods of the Inhabitants; when at the same Time, *Cope* had arrived the Day before at *Dunbar*, within two Days easy March, with his Majesty's Forces from *Inverness*.

And here before we enter on this Engagement of such Advantage to the Rebels, and so fatal to so many of his Majesty's Subjects, 'tis necessary to turn from them a little, and view the Proceedings of the Nation against them.

The Incredibility of all kinds of People at the first Rise of this Rebellion is amazing, and the Consternation and Horror all were seized with, even in the most secure Parts of the Kingdom, were far exceeding the Importancy of the Rebels, and much beneath the Resolution of a valiant Nation, had there not been something extraordinary, which though at that Time it so greatly

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affected

affected them they could not account for it. The long Happiness and Felicity of his Majesty's Reign had now so long been enjoyed by every Member of this Community, that each thought he might, with the greatest Security, be bound for the Loyalty of his Neighbour : But no sooner was it so firmly attested as to admit of no Contradiction, than every one began to frame such Ideas of them as best agreed with their own Notions. One formed them a Company of Cannibals, this would have them a set of Gigans, and that called them a Banditti of Robbers; and this not amongst Children and Women only, but such as always shewed themselves on other Occasions Men of Fortitude and Resolution. The Mildness of his Majesty's Government would not suffer them to be esteemed rational, whilst the Opportunity they had laid hold on sufficiently testified their Cunning. The Nation was destitute of Troops, deprived of the Presence of his Majesty, and disheartened by the Absence of their Heroe, and but a small Part of the Summer remaining sufficient for them to make what Acquisitions they had a Mind to, and by securing Winter Quarters, to gather

4

Strength

Strength against the next Spring. What Forces could be got together were sent against them, under Sir *John Cope*; who, after he had proceeded a considerable Way up in the Highlands, in Order to stop their Career at the Pass of *Corryerrock*, found they had been before Hand with him, and saw them climb the Mountains, and proceed by Ways not to be come at, without the greatest Disadvantage, so thought not proper to engage them; but for Want of Provisions was obliged to march to *Inverness*, whilst he left a free Passage for the Rebels Southward. No sooner did he arrive there, than he was joined by two hundred of the Clan of *Munro*, (which were all of the well affected who had joined him; tho' he had the strongest Assurances of having his Army enlarged by a considerable Body at *Grief*, and had, with the greatest Inconveniency from the Badness of the Roads, carried Arms for a Thousand;) with whom, and the other Forces under his Command, he immediately marched to *Aberdeen*, from whence, having before sent to them to provide Transports, he embarked for *Leith*, but the Wind not setting fair to sail up the Forth, he was obliged to land at *Dunbar*,

which he did on the Seventeenth, and his Artillery on the Eighteenth; on the next Night he encamped a little beyond *Haddington*, from whence the next Day he reached *Preston Pans*; where he no sooner came and took Possession of his Ground, than the Rebels appeared on the South. The Number of General *Cope*'s Forces were about two Thousand, whilst the Rebels amounted to about Four. The remaining Part of that Day was spent by the Rebels in endeavouring to flank the King's Forces, but being disappointed by the Vigilance of the General, and perhaps not a little disheartened by the courageous Huzzas of his Majesty's Forces, they declined Fighting till about three o'Clock the next Morning, when they began to march in the greatest Silence; and 'twas four o'Clock e'er they were discovered by the Scouts of the opposite Party, when the General immediately went out to reconnoitre them, and disposed his Army to the best Advantage. He was attacked by three Columns of the choicest Highlanders, who came swiftly on them, and after once discharging their Pieces in an irregular Manner, the Dragoons gave Way; and in Spight of the
greatest

greatest Diligence and Fortitude of the Officers, they could not be brought together till out of Danger; the Foot sustained their Shock for some Time, till many being killed and wounded, they were put to Confusion. The General with the Earls of *Loudon* and *Hume*, got together a Body of four hundred and fifty Horse, at the West End of the Town of *Preston*, and in vain would have persuaded them to have renewed the Attack, the Rebels being now in Disorder, but he was obliged to retreat with them to *Berwick*.

I know not any Action which casts so great a Reflection on the *English* Fortitude, and will for ever be esteemed a sufficient Proof of the superior Valour of the *Scotch*.

They had the Advantage of the Ground, a most experienced General, and I may venture to say, never was an Army better Officered, they were well disciplined, and had a good Train of Artillery, whilst they ever esteemed their Enemy, as indeed the Shortness of their entering that Service, proves them to have been little better than a confused Mob, and tho' their own Accounts deem the Rebels to have been Double

ble their Number, we have Reason to believe, they were pretty near equal. The Number of the *English* slain was very considerable, but never particularized; their Officers came off very bad, being most of them deserted by their Men, there being five slain, and eight dangerously wounded; amongst the first, was that noble Example of true Fortitude General *Gardener*, who after he had in vain done all that possibly he could to keep them together, dismounted, and took a Half-pike and headed the Foot, where being surrounded, having received two Wounds, and being engaged with a Rebel Officer, whom, when he was about to strike, he was attacked behind, and cleaved down with an Ax. It may not be amiss here to consider, what could, amidst all these Advantages, cause so great Terror and Fright to be spread through the whole Army, and here I think it can't be attributed to want of Courage, since they were so willing to make that forced March so dangerous to *Inverness*, and they had testified their Alacrity to fight the Day before: But I believe it may be firmly asserted to be a Concurrence of those dreadful Accounts they had heard of them, tho' little

little believed, yet had made an Impression in the Breast of the boldest, together with the Horrors of the Night, and the unexpected Method of engaging; their Train was seized, and a hundred Men who guarded it, were put to Confusion, e'er they knew they had begun the Attack. Hence succeeded an Overthrow, tho' of few in Number, yet for the Disgrace, and in the Consequences which were likely to follow, scarce to be paralleled in History; for so great was the Dread of the whole Nation at that Time, that had they from thence immediately proceeded to *London*, the Establishment of the Kingdom had been in no small Danger.

But such an Enterprize would not have been consistent with the Policy of *France*, whose Dupes they were: For how good an Ally soever she was to him, or how great an Enemy to the *English* Court, 'twas never her Design that he should prevail over both.

The Union, as it renders Peace and Tranquillity to these Nations, was ever held as a great Eye-sore to *France*; she was ever desirous to have this Island under different Monarchies, to the End that by the Assistance

Assistance of the one, she might worm herself into the whole.

And here to give our Enemy his just Due, the Prudence, together with the great Patience of the young Chevalier, provided we can imagine he really thought his Father's Pretensions to these Dominions just, can never sufficiently be admired. He saw the Kingdom of *England* entirely destitute of all Forces, the Consternation of all his Adversaries he could well imagine, and the Repute his late Conquest had procured him, would not suffer aught to resist him; yet, when he was about to reap the Benefit of all these Advantages, he received a Prohibition from that Quarter, where he expected the greatest Assistance.

No sooner was the Army returned from pursuing his Majesty's Forces, and assembled together at *Musselburg*, about a Mile to the West from the Field of Battle, than the Pretender declaring his Resolution to set forward instantly for *London*, the *French* Party immediately began to lay open the Danger and Absurdity of leaving the Kingdom of *Scotland* unconquered, that he would then as it were shut himself up between two Fires, and should not Things
turn

turn out well, as there were great Reason to fear they would not, should they leave *Edinburgh* and *Stirling* in the Hands of the Enemy, they must inevitably all be cut off, as they should have no Place to retreat to, and have no Opportunity of having any Ships to transport them, whereas by the staying and taking those two Holds, which at the farthest would not take up a Fortnight at each Place, they might then go with far greater Repute, their Number would be considerably increased, not only by the disaffected coming into them, but by the great Succours they daily expected from *France* and *Spain*, and then at the worst, should they be unsuccessful in *England*, they would still find a secure Retreat in the Kingdom of *Scotland*. To which the Chevalier replied at first with Surprise and Heat, that now when he had paved the Way for the entire Subversion of these Kingdoms, by entirely dispersing the only regular Troops it had for its Defence, and the Nation in such Concern and Agitation, that were the Number of his Friends there much less considerable, they would be sufficient to establish the Dominion of one whom the late Battle had

G

declared

declared to be so powerful, provided he appeared himself to ballance the Power, the reigning Monarch must add to his Party, that the being inclosed in between two Fires was an Absurdity, for what did it signify whether he faced *England* or the *Scotch*. That on the other Hand, by his immediate March for the South, he prevented either being levelled at him, whilst if he stayed in the North, he should no sooner have overcome one Enemy, than the other would be ready to attack him. That in going to *England* thus speedily, he should have little more to do than to take Possession, whilst the Succours he daily expected in the North, would be sufficient to make a Conquest thereof. That besides, he had Intelligence of a Number of *Dutch* daily expected in *England*, together with the *English* Forces from *Flanders* with the Elector's Son, all of which his speedy March for *England* would prevent being of Service, when of Truth their staying in *Scotland* would pen them in between two Fires; then he began to entreat them to be unanimous, and not to let Dissentions amongst themselves destroy what their Valour had procured them against their Enemy.

Enemy. Then he again declared his Resolution immediately to proceed for the South, when the *French* Party declared their Commission was to act no further than in the Reduction of *Scotland*. Then was his Amaze and Confusion so great, he knew not what to do; however, recovering himself, that his *Scotch* Friends might not perceive his Confusion, and in Order to take off the Slur of this Affront from the Court of *France*, he began to accuse them with Cowardice, as tho' they had made use of that Pretence in Order to conceal their Want of Resolution in undertaking so dangerous an Enterprize; then encouraging the *Scotch* and *Irish*, and speaking largely of his Friends in *England*, he began to shew the Fewness of the *French*, that they might with equal Safety undertake this Expedition without them, and then declared his Resolution to do so. When the *French* began to speak much of their Honour, how often they had exposed their Lives in his Service, and how ready they should be to do so again, would their Commission permit them, but that they were not only deprived of that Opportunity of manifesting their Zeal in his Cause, but were likewise

necessitated by it to declare to the Court of *England* that your Highness's Undertaking is not only without his Assistance and Aid, but that he is highly displeased therewith.

No sooner did he perceive the Sincerity of his *French* Partizans, together with the Treachery of the Court of *Versailles*, than he immediately recollected all his Patience, and began to turn his Thoughts towards the entire Subversion of the *Scotch* Dominions, and on the twenty-fourth of *September* he returned to *Edinburgh*.

And here we can't help admiring the Consequences of the so subtile Politicks of the *French*. She was confident that the whole Island joined under one Monarch would be held by all the Rules of Policy, ever to esteem *France* as her Rival and sure Adversary, even tho' her Assistance alone had fixed the Monarch on the Throne, whilst on the other Hand, its being governed by different Scepters would make her at first the Arbitratress of their Differences, and in the End the sole Mistress. The great Reports of the Pretender and his Party, of their numerous Friends, and great Influence all over *England*, whilst the

the common Discourse of all Parties ever tended to depreciate the present Government, and the low Circumstances of the Nations Forces had so far blinded the Eyes of *France*, that she had concluded his Establishment was secure, and only considered in what Share would be most convenient for her Interest. She knew, should he be placed by the free Consent and sole Interest of the Natives, he would be forced to join with the same Allies, and push forward the present War with equal Zeal, whilst his only taking Possession of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, a Country so defended by Nature, and so disagreeable to all but the Natives, would not only entirely withdraw all the *English* from the present War, but many of her Allies; wherefore she had commissioned her Subjects engaged in this Undertaking, that in Case *Scotland* could be secured, they should engage no farther with *England*, than might tend to the Harrassing thereof, for that it was the Will of *France* to keep the two Nations separate.

Hence no sooner did the Bravery and Resolution of General *Guest* expose the
Folly

Folly of their so soon conquering that Nation, than they resolved to enter *England*, not with any Thoughts of better succeeding there, for they knew *France* had suffered, when it was in her Power to have prevented both *English* and *Dutch* Troops to be transported from *Flanders*, but as they imagined such a Resolution would have raised a Confusion equal to their imagined Disaffection.

But to return to the Siege of *Edinburgh*, for which at present they were entirely unprovided, however, they made what Preparations their present Circumstances would permit; on the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, they sent away all their Prisoners to *Perth*, and began to cut off the Communication between the Town and Castle; they opened their Trenches on the first of *October*, below the Reservoir, but losing three Men, and General *Macdonald* their Chief Engineer being wounded, they quitted their Works about four in the Afternoon, but Hostilities continued between them till the Fifth in the Evening, when the Rebels losing twenty Men in endeavouring to drive away a Part of the Garrison from their Intrenchment on the Castle-Hill, the Communication

munication between the Castle and Town was restored.

During this Space the Rebels sent to demand fifteen thousand Pounds of the City of *Glasgow*, but compounded for five thousand Guineas, which were immediately sent. They laid a Tax on the Houses of *Edinburgh* of two Shillings and Sixpence in the Pound, under Pain of Military Execution. They were likewise joined by several Persons of the highest Distinction, particularly the unfortunate Earl of *Kilmarnock*, Lord *Pitsligo*, old *Gordon* of *Glenbucket* and others. They were considerably reinforced by several Ships from *France*, with Officers, Ammunition, &c. but a rich Ship loaden with Money and Stores for their Service from *Spain*, was taken and carried into *Bristol*, by the *Tryal* Privateer of that Place. They planted a Battery at *Alloway* to secure the Passage of the *Firth*, to bring their Stores from *Montross*, *Stonehive*, *Aberbrothock*, and other Places, which were brought safe in about one hundred and eighty odd Carts.

The young *Chevalier* having before sent to have the Palace of the Duke of *Buccleugh* fitted up for his Reception at *Dalkeith*,

Keith, he arrived there on the first of *November*. A Place not chose only for the Elegancy of its Edifice, in which it excelled all in that Part of the Island, but the Conveniency of its Situation; since he could easily from thence send into the North of *England*, and found the Affections of the People to his Party, and by that Means judge of the most advantageous Way to enter *England*. By that Means he found that 2000 *Dutch* and *Swiss* were landed at *Newcastle*, under the Command of Count *Maurice*; as likewise several of the *English* Forces from *Flanders*, and the Field Marshal *Wade* was arrived there with the chief Command of his Majesty's Forces, in Number Fourteen Thousand. Wherefore he chose to enter by the Way of *Carlisle*, where there were but a small Garrison, under the Command of Colonel *Durand*. So that on the Fifth he set out from *Dalkeith*, having before sent two Bodies to escort about 150 Carts and Waggon, and nigh the same Number of Sumpter Horses. He passed the *Tweed* on the Sixth, and entered *England* on the Seventh, being in Number not quite Seven Thousand effective Men. With these, few in Number, and yet

yet much fewer, if we should enumerate only the Men armed and fit to engage, did they enter *England*: Not with the least Hopes of obtaining any other Advantage, than what the Confusion might cause, at least on the Part of the *French*; tho' the sincere Behaviour of the young *Chevalier*, is a sufficient Proof he himself was deceived, and the Zeal of the *Scotch* leave no manner of Room to Imagine otherwise than that they built an entire Confidence in the Pretender's Assurances. All which, were it not known from the best Authorities, would be sufficiently proved from their Debate at the Conference at *Derby*, as shall be spoke of in its proper Place: I say with these they entered *England* on no other Prospects, than the Assurances *France* and *Spain* had promised them of an Invasion in the South, at a Time when fourteen thousand Men were stationed in the North to stop their Entrance, under Field Marshal *Wade* at *Newcastle*, all the Kingdom in Arms through the Loyalty and Zeal of the Nobility and Gentry. The Dukes of *Montague* and *Bedford*, Lords *Herbert* and *Kildare*, and many others having raised considerable

H Forces

Forces all over the Kingdom; the City of *London* better guarded, and governed by Laws better fitted, perhaps to prevent a Surprise, than ever was any City. The Gentlemen of *Yorkshire*, besides the Counties raising four Regiments, formed into a Company of Hussars, under the Command of General *Oglethorpe*, and distinguished by the Name of the Royal Hunters, and all the other Counties and Corporations raising Money and Forces for the Defence of their Country. Yet so blinded were the *Scotch* with the Consciousness of their own Demerits, and a Despair of Mercy many found not too late to receive, even when Necessity had reduced them to accept it, that they in these Circumstances were pushed on, to be as it were the Claw to reach the Prey from the Flames for the Benefit of *France*.

The *French* knew that if they should be forced in their Career to an Engagment, it would but be to lay down their Arms, as they afterwards did, and they would be Prisoners of War; whilst the poor deluded *Scotch* were sure that nothing less than an
entire

entire Victory would save them from certain Death.

And here having brought them to *England*, and having a March and Retreat to describe little inferior to the most famed in History, it is highly necessary to mention the Managers e'er I finish this Head.

And first of their Leader, of whom I shall only beg leave to say, that (can we presume him believing his Cause just) his Youth makes it no less Glory to him, that he so generously resigned himself to the Counsels of others, and so bravely executed what they advised him, than tho' the whole Plot had entirely been of his own laying. He resigned himself to the Counsel of a few, whose long and faithful Services had convinced him of their Wisdom and Sincerity. He suffered himself to be governed, and winked at the Insolence of those whose Assistance he stood in absolute Need of, and humoured the over zealous, tho' unexperienced Highlanders, in whatever was not of absolute Disadvantage to his Cause.

Sheridan, Sullivan, Macdonald and Kelly, were the Men he most confided in. The

first having been his Tutor, the second was skilled in Engineering, the third was his Aid de Camp, and *Kelly* had manifested his Zeal and daring Resolution when Secretary to the late Bishop of *Rochester*. But from these he was obliged to take Counsel by Stealth, since the Pride of the Highlanders would never have brooked Commands from any they esteemed their Inferiors. So that they were given out by the Duke of *Perth* as General, Lord *George Murray* as Lieutenant-General, the eldest Son of the Earl of *Wemys*, Lord *Elcho*, commanded the Life-Guards: The Lord *Pitsligo* headed the Angus Horse, and the unhappy Earl of *Kilmarnock* was made Colonel of *Hussars*.

In such Circumstances as these, who can help admiring the Fortitude, or wondering at the Folly of such an Undertaking, according as they are acquainted with the Expectations of the Undertakers? They could no sooner enter *England* than they would have an Army of Fourteen Thousand to cut off their Retreat, another treble their Number to face, and each Side flanked by Numberless in Arms: Yet they set forward
with

with all the Alacrity of Men sure of Victory.

The young *Chevalier* built his Hopes on many Expectations ; he flattered himself, the Invitations and Promises of his Party in *England* would be sincere and effectual, and he could not but be persuaded the Promises of the *French* and *Spaniards* would be performed. The poor Highlanders were already ruined, in Case their Party should stop at the Acquisitions they had already got, and not push forward, and make an entire Overthrow ; the Promises of the *English* were greatly magnified to them, and the Certainty of the *French* and *Spaniards* landing with Thirty Thousand in the South was well instilled into them ; as to the *French* they run not the least Hazard, having no Property to lose, and the laying down their Arms at a Necessity, would secure their Lives.

Thus we see their Leader, the Dupe of *France*, pushed on to almost certain Destruction ; the poor deluded Highlander, first drawn in by specious Appearances, and then drove by Necessity to this so Romantick an Undertaking ; and by so few
that

that I am aware the Absurdity of it will be urged against me. But tho' the *French* were small in Number, yet they were most experienced Officers, and the whole Success of their Undertaking depended on the Assistance they expected from that Party. They had with them a Spy on their Actions, dignified with the Name of Ambassador, and who immediately sent Reports to the *French* of the Circumstances of their Affairs, and by that Means commanded the greatest Respect to their Party.

The Rebels were spurred on to this Attempt of entering *England*, when they found their Force insufficient to reduce *Scotland*, by the Assurances the *French* gave them of being seconded by an Invasion in the South. On the Sixth of *November* they passed the *Tweed*, and on the Seventh their main Body entered *England*, and quartered at *Halybaugh*, on the Eighth at *Langton*, and on the Ninth within two Miles of *Carlisle*; from whence they sent to summon the City, the Army being made to believe the Inhabitants wanted only the usual Ceremonies to be performed,
before

before they delivered up the Keys. But receiving a Refusal, they immediately filed off towards *Brampton*; but so great was the Discontent of the Soldiers, they were there obliged to hold a Consultation: Where the Pretender declaring the absolute Necessity of immediately proceeding to the Capital, and the ill Consequences each Delay must occasion, he was seconded by the *French*; but the Highlanders insisted on the absolute Necessity of establishing the Credit of their Arms, as they went; when the *Chevalier*, who ever thought it his chief Interest to keep in with the *Scotch*, immediately returned, the Soldiers repairing Fascines and Scaling Ladders all the Way.

The Town capitulated on the Fifteenth, and the Castle was given up at the same Time, tho' it was deemed tenable against a superior Force by the Governor, Colonel *Durand*; they immediately proclaimed the Pretender, as they did at every Town they came to, and collected the pulick Money, and made the Duke of *Perth* Governor. On the Sixteenth *Wade* set out from *Newcastle* to relieve the Siege, being three Days
March

March a-crofs the Country, and reached *Ovington* late the first Evening. Major General *Howard* and *Oglethorp*, Brigadeur *Cholmondely*, and *Mordaunt* distinguished themselves by marching at the Head of the Infantry, when the Country was all covered with Snow; the next Day about Four in the Afternoon they reached *Hexam*, where they heard of the taking of *Carlisle*, and the Rebels having the Start; his Soldiers greatly fatigued, and a Mortality reigning amongst them, he thought it most adviseable to return to *Newcastle*, and protect the Frontiers by preventing any Supplies arriving from the North. The Hardships his Majesty's Forces endured, as received from those in the Army, is sufficient to excite the Pity of all who enjoy any of the Necessaries of Life, many perishing through extream Cold, and others losing the Use of their Limbs through the Badness of their Quarters; but when we turn our Thoughts towards the Rebels, when we reflect they were in the Field during all this Season, and in an Enemy's Country unprovided of all Necessaries, and many scarce half
I cloathed,

cloathed, we can't help wondering at the Effeminacy of the *English*, or admiring the Hardiness of the *Scotch*. To take off the Aspersions of the first, and give an Instance of the high Degree of the last, I shall here relate a Scene of my own Knowledge. During the Rebels stay about *Carlisle*, a Highlander being intoxicated with Liquor, made the open Field his Bed, which his former Fatigues and the Fumes of his Drink had rendered so easy, that, tho' a deep Snow had fell in the Night and covered him over, he was found sleeping at seven the next Morning by a Companion's stumbling over him; he would fain have got up, but received a Check from his Head, in short, his Hair had been froze to the Ground, that it was no small Pain to him to get loose, yet when up, he found no other Inconveniency, but highly refreshed by the Sweetness of his Nap.

They left *Carlisle* on the 20th, and march'd to *Penrith*; on the 22d, they proceed to *Kendal*; the 24th, to *Lancaster*; the 27th, to *Preston*; the 28th, to *Wigan*, from whence the same Day they sent a Party to *Manchester* to beat up for Recruits; and on the 29th, the main Body arriv'd there: Here it was

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they

they were joined by what few came into them during their being in *England*, and here the Bell-man proclaimed the publick Money to be brought to them, here they divided their Army, part going through *Stockport* for *Knotsford*; *December 1*, they arrive at *Macclesfield*, where they were alarmed with the News of his Majesty's Forces being very near, and the remaining part of the Day was spent in preparing for an Engagement; on the 2d, they divided again, two thousand passing by *Gows-worth*, the other by *Congleton*; on the 3d, one arrives at *Leek*, and the other at *Ashbourn*, and on the 4th enter *Derby*. Here they sit in Council on the Dismal Prospect of their Affairs, being disappointed and deceived in all their Expectations. Here first of all, since his arriving in *England*, the Pretender received a certain Intelligence of the Impossibility of his Friends in *London* making any stir in his Favour. He had advice likewise, that the *English* Ships of War were so stationed, as to render it impossible for them to come out of Port, without the certain Fate of falling into the Enemy's Hands: However, he took no Notice of these

these Things, in the first Day's Consultation; but prudently suffered the injured Highlanders to vent their whole Scope of Spleen, which was first thrown out against the deceitful *French*, then was turned on the timorous *English*; and lastly, was retorted back on one another, which was carried to so high a Degree, as tho' they were willing to revenge on themselves, the Disappointments they had received from their perjured Friends; and at last was broke up by the Authority of the Chevalier, with no other Conclusion than a Decree, to collect the publick Money.

We have seen the Progress of this unnatural Rebellion thus far, and have looked into the Causes that could prompt them to so *Don Quixote* an Enterprize. We shall now proceed in the Second Part, to relate their Retreat, which so justly has commanded the Admiration of all.

End of PART I.

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